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Looking East but learning from the West?

Mass Tourism and Emerging Nations

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Abstract: In the United Kingdom, domestic mass tourism began in the mid-nineteenth century during a period of peace and increased prosperity. It was facilitated by the railways, that enabled the rapid movement of people in bulk, and later by mass production of the motor car. Similarly, international mass tourism emerged in Europe and North America after the second World War, with stability, increasing prosperity, and advances in air transport. Similar socio-economic and political conditions led first to mass domestic tourism and then international tourism in Japan and China, and in both the state played an explicit and supportive part in tourism development. In all cases, mass tourism increasingly attracted academic attention, as seen most recently in the explosion of studies (in English and Chinese) of inbound and outbound Chinese tourism. There have been calls for a new 'paradigm' to analyse the development of Asian (most notably Chinese) tourism, which raise crucial questions as to whether or not 'science,' 'paradigms' and tourism studies can or should be tailored to study mass tourism because of its increased importance in East Asia.

Keywords: mass tourism, Europe, East Asia, history, paradigms.

Introduction

There is much in modern tourism that replicates the past. Visitors to ancient Egypt scratched their names on the walls of the Egyptian pyramids, and drunken tourists at religious festivals in ancient Egypt, Greece and Rome scandalised local residents by their 'immoral' behaviour (Casson, 1974, p. 31-32, 142-143; Harrison and Sharpley, forthcoming). Whether on the seventeenth century Grand Tour of Europe, visiting spas in the eighteenth and nineteenth century, or on the first package tours in the England of the mid-nineteenth century, travellers were generally welcomed for the economic

benefits they brought, greeted with ambivalence for the different cultures they represented, and criticised for their behaviour when contravening the norms and values of their ‘hosts.’

This reference to history is no simple diversion. When examining the current development of mass tourism in emerging countries, an historical perspective is vital. Consequently, this paper compares the emergence of domestic mass tourism in nineteenth century England and international mass tourism in the post-1945 period with the later rise of mass tourism in East Asia, notably Japan and China, and suggests that while there were some differences, the processes were broadly similar.

Domestic Mass Tourism in England in the Nineteenth Century

Relatively large-scale tourism first developed in the mid-1700s, when physicians popularised the medical benefits of sea bathing (Gilbert 1954, p. 56-86), thus providing an alternative to inland spas, which had long been visited for health and recreational purposes (van Tubergen and van der Lindien 2002). The resulting move to the sea was greatly facilitated by advances in stage coach design and improvements in roads, a ‘golden age of coaching’ which lasted until the 1830s (Briggs 1994, p. 228).

Possibly delayed by the Napoleonic Wars (1792-1815), which were highly costly and led to considerable poverty, also (arguably) crowding out civilian investment (Englander 1995, p. 534-535; Esdaile 2014, p. 159-162), the British economy soon went (quite literally) full steam ahead. The impact of the railways on the British landscape and economy was enormous. They revolutionised the distribution of consumer goods, especially perishable products (Briggs 1994, p. 231-234), and similarly facilitated the movement of passengers from one part of the country in ‘monster trains’ (Bradley 2015, p. 89), including those who participated in Thomas Cook’s early package tours. As Briggs notes, Cook called for ‘railways for the millions.....And he got them’ (1994, p 236).

Mass travel by train became unstoppable: excursions were run to executions, to (illegal) bare-knuckle prize fights, and to horse races, with hundreds of trains taking spectators to the most prestigious events. However, purposes of travel varied considerably. Women valued Cook’s package tours for the

security they provided and made up most of his early clients (Pudney 1954, p. 91), and his tours always had a strongly educational focus. Theatre and concert audiences increased enormously, as did attendance at special exhibitions. Cook himself ran trips taking a total of some 165,000 passengers to the 1851 Great Exhibition in the Crystal Palace in London's Hyde Park (Pudney 1954, p. 106).

Not everyone rejoiced at this unprecedented movement of the largely urban population. In the mid-1840s, the poet William Wordsworth, having previously written a guide to the (English) Lake District, did his utmost to stop railways penetrating the rural idyll, anticipating crowds of lower-class visitors, 'wrestling matches, horses and boat races without number,' and an increase in 'pothouses and beershops' run 'by the lower class of innkeepers' (in Ousby 1990, p. 192). Similarly, although resorts such as Brighton, in the south, and Blackpool, in the north, became holiday destinations for workers from nearby cities (London, on the one hand, and northern cotton towns, on the other), seaside resort residents (and their more refined middle-class visitors) often objected to the behaviour of largely working-class holidaymakers. Drunkenness, boisterousness and vulgarity topped the list and many resorts legislated against noisy behaviour (Gilbert 1954, p. 187; Walton 1978, p. 138-139), and naked sea bathing came to scandalise some resorts (Travis 1993, p. 121; Walvin 1978, p. 78; Walton 2000, p. 135). On the 'supply side,' commercialisation and competition for the visitors' money was increasingly considered intrusive (Travis 1993, p. 88; Walton 1978, p. 119-122), while visitors were frequently said to bring little economic benefit to a resort because they brought their own food and drink with them (Gilbert 1954, p. 205-206).

The railways facilitated large-scale movements of people and a wide range of accommodation was developed to cater for their various needs but none of this could have occurred had the *demand* not been present. In fact, as the railways flourished, so did the productivity, living standards and material expectations of many workers, in England, Western Europe and North America (Walvin 1978, p. 61-65; Soane 1993, p. 7-23). There were also a lot more of them. Following advances in public health, more (and more nutritious) food and a falling death rate, the English population rose from 16.9 million in 1851 to 30.8 million in 1901 (Briggs 1994, p. 268), while in Europe and North America generally, between 1850 and 1900 residents in towns of

more than 100,000 increased from nearly 15 million to 81 million (Soane 1993, p. 15).

All these factors, coupled with a growing recognition of the benefits of holidays, as reflected in the British 1870 Bank Holiday Act (and, much later, the 1938 Holidays with Pay Act), meant that English seaside resorts, in particular, had entered their most popular period, which lasted until the outbreak of the first World War in 1914. At the same time, following a pattern began by such religious organisations as the Boy's Brigade, in 1894 the first British holiday camp, for men who pledged 'not to touch alcohol or use improper language,' was formed (Drower 1982, p. 7). Here, at least, Thomas Cook's legacy continued. An annual excursion to the seaside or, better still, a week's stay, was increasingly becoming the norm.

Attractions ranged from the garish, noisy and vulgar to the more refined, from dance bands on newly-constructed piers, blacked-up 'nigger' minstrels, music halls and freak shows for some, to manicured gardens, museums, plays and classical music concerts for others. Many seaside towns had resident orchestras, and others encouraged touring companies to visit, and throughout the summer season visitors at popular resorts listened and danced to music at seafront band stands, on piers, or in especially designed winter Gardens and theatres, performed by orchestras and bands made up of well-known professional musicians, sometimes supplemented by amateurs, who played a range of popular and light classical European and British music, often giving premieres to local and nationally-known composers (Pimlott 1947, p. 132; Walvin 1978, p. 75; Anon 1993; Johnson, 2001).

Clearly, from the outset, the 'mass tourist' was not a homogeneous category. True, most visitors were attracted to the sea and the beach, but away from the beach they took 'different routes, for different periods and to sharply contrasting resorts and enjoyments (Walvin 1978, p. 82).

If land was owned by one or only a few owners, or local authorities were diligent in implementing building and health regulations, seaside resorts could cater for different classes of visitor in separate zones (Walton 2000, p. 16-17), leading to clear differences in architecture, facilities and social 'tone' (Walvin 1978, p. 77-78). Where such zoning was not possible, adjacent coastal towns emerged to offer 'superior' entertainment and facilities for wealthier visitors (Walvin 1978, p. 77).

Several key points emerge from this brief but necessary venture into nineteenth century English history. First, domestic mass tourism resulted from the coincidence of a growing and increasingly prosperous population with major advances in travel and communications – most notably, the railways. Secondly, as in previous periods, the (mis)behaviour of tourists was often frowned upon. Thirdly, tourists came from different classes and had a range of motivations and interests, which were satisfied by entrepreneurs providing an appropriate range of accommodation and entertainment. Finally, the character of the urban landscape, seaside towns, and tourism generally, changed over the decades (Pimlott 1947, p. 116-121). Fishing villages became thriving tourist towns, later to decline or be rejuvenated, as in the case of Brighton, on England's south coast, which became a highly popular urban environment with two universities, achieving much-vaunted city status as Brighton and Hove in 2001.

International Mass Tourism in the Twentieth Century

As Briggs notes, it took more than a century for mass tourism in the UK to be extended across national borders (1994, p. 236). Indeed, international tourism was not new to the twentieth century, but its *mass* nature was. While the focus in this section is on travel by air, the emphasis is partial; during the early decades of the twentieth century there were undoubtedly major developments in motorised transport and its supporting infrastructure. The mass production of cars, starting with the Model T Ford, brought independent road travel affordable, first to the USA population and then elsewhere. As cheaper, faster, more reliable and fuel-efficient vehicles were developed, the landscapes of vast swathes of North America and (later) Europe were transformed. By 1953, 93% of all recreational trips in the USA were by car (Jakle 1985, p. 186). Travel and holiday patterns changed; new roads absorbed the increased private and commercial traffic; hotels and motels, increasingly owned or operated by large corporations, provided accommodation, and by the 1960s the 'traffic jam' was a fact of life, especially at holiday periods (Jakle 1985, p. 185-198; Jakle, Sculle and Rogers 1996; Middleton with Lickorish, 2005, p. 55-56, 105-106).

The years immediately after 1945 were ones of austerity for former combatants of the second World War. However, North America soon recovered and, building on pre-war advances (Briggs 1994, p. 300-319), European economies improved steadily during the 1950s. In the UK, Billy Butlin had built his first holiday camp in 1937, and the 1938 Holidays with Pay Act reflected much of what was already happening in many parts of the UK (Briggs 1994, p. 300-303). Prolonged peace had its rewards, and in 1957 Macmillan, the British Prime Minister, announced that the British people 'have never had it so good.'

From the early 1950s, all-in, short-haul charter tourism was developed in the UK by such entrepreneurs as Raitz and Laker, who used war-surplus aircraft and airstrips constructed during the second World War (Buswell 2011, p. 61; Middleton and Lickorish 2005, p. 21, 78, 103, 119-124). They and other tour operators later benefited from the development of turbo-prop and jet aircraft (Lyth 2009), and from hard-won 1960 legislation that enabled them to compete more easily with the national airlines. Consequently, by 1967, five million Britons were holidaying abroad, more than double the number of 1960.

Charter tours also developed in northern Europe, especially Scandinavia and Germany. While Nice, Antibes and Rimini were early beneficiaries, Mallorca, in particular, where outside developers were able to purchase large swathes of the coast, was soon transformed by millions of visitors (Longfren 1999, p. 173; Buswell, 2011). From 1960, charter tourism 'remapped the Mediterranean' (Longfren 1999, p. 184), 'turning old, barren and depopulated peripheries into centres of economic growth' (Longfren 1999, p. 184). Spain, Italy, Greece, Turkey, Tunisia, Morocco, Egypt and Israel all became sun, sea and sand destinations, and some also winter destinations, as were Yugoslavia, Romania and Bulgaria, whose communist governments wanted much-needed foreign exchange (Allcock 1991, p. 244-246; Carter 1991; Hall 1991, p. 95-104). Switzerland and Austria, too, became popular venues for winter holidays (Williams and Shaw 1988, p. 16).

The rapid expansion of international tourism is reflected in figures for international arrivals and receipts (table 1). Arrivals increased ten times from 25 million international trips in 1950 to 278 million in 1980, and receipts by a much greater proportion. The process was repeated in central and eastern

Europe after the post-1989 collapse of the Soviet bloc and the opening up of its former members' borders. Along with the ensuing expansion of the European Union (and its 'open skies' policy), new members of the EU, again utilising former military airfields and again benefiting from the operation of budget airlines (Hall, Smith and Marciszewska 2006, p. 15; Kiralova 2006, p. 112-113), opened up the region to tourism, much of which is centred on the capital cities (Hall et al 2006).

Table 1. International Tourism Arrivals and Receipts: selected years, 1950-2014

Year	Arrivals (million)	Receipts (US\$bn)	Year	Arrivals (million)	Receipts (US\$bn)
1950	25.3	2.1	1999	639.6	464.5
1960	69.3	6.9	2000	687.0	481.6
1965	112.9	11.6	2001	686.7	469.9
1970	165.8	17.9	2002	707.0	488.2
1975	222.3	40.7	2003	694.6	534.6
1980	278.1	104.4	2004	765.1	634.7
1985	320.1	119.1	2005	806.6	682.7
1990	439.5	270.2	2006	847.0	742.0
1991	442.5	283.4	2007	903.0	856.0
1992	479.8	326.6	2008	917.0	939.0
1993	495.7	332.6	2009	882.0	851.0
1994	519.8	362.1	2010	940.0	927.0
1995	540.6	410.7	2011	995.0	1,042.0
1996	575.0	446.0	2012	1,035.0	1,075.0
1997	598.6	450.4	2013	1,087.0	1,159.0
1998	616.7	451.4	2014	1,133.0	1,245.0

Source: Adapted from UNWTO data

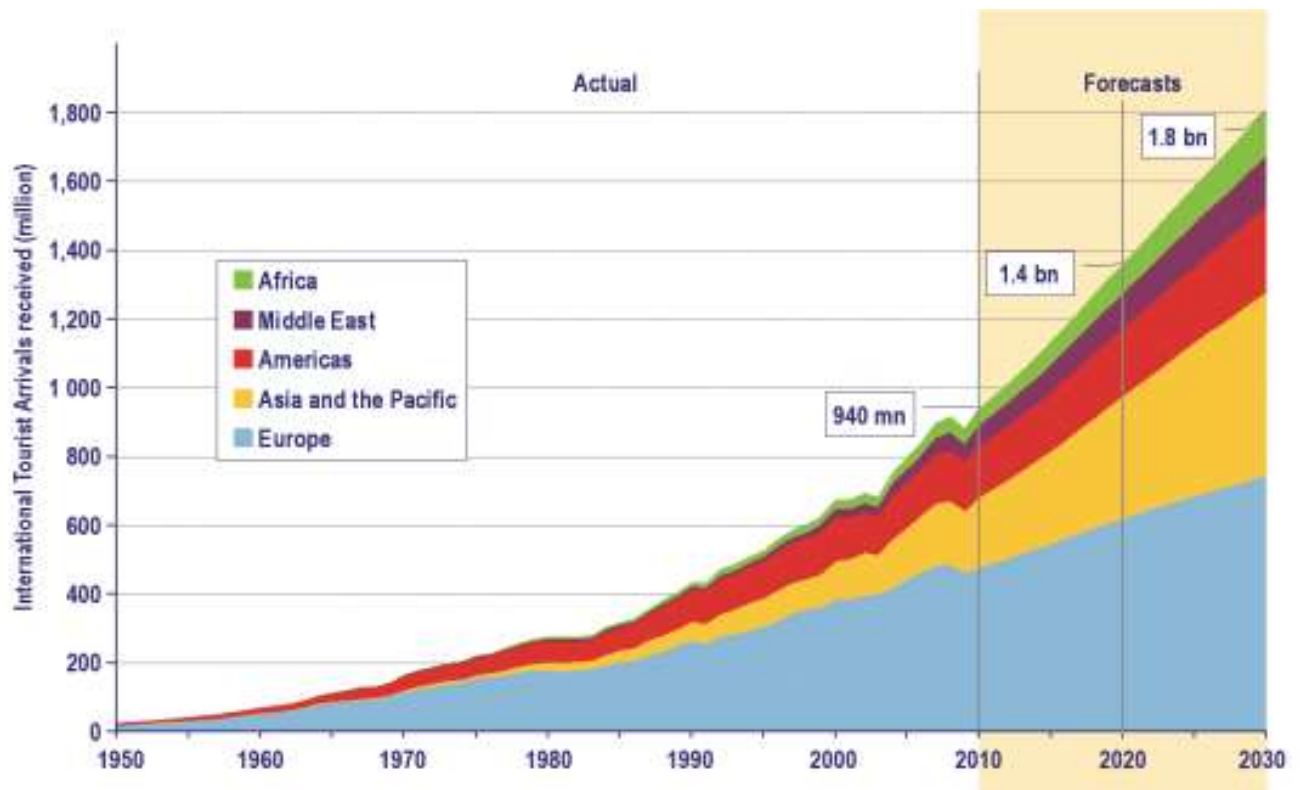
At first sight, mass tourism involves a standard tourism product (Lofgren 1999, p. 191), reflecting a wider 'McDonaldization' of production and consumption in society (Ritzer 2014). However, even 'standard' mass tourist Mediterranean resorts cater for many tourist interests and offer a wide range of summer and winter attractions (Williams and Shaw 1988, p. 17-21). Comparing British clients of three apparently similar charter tour companies,

Wright notes that once at the destination, first-time visitors ‘used the package as a springboard to independent activity’ (2002, p. 199), adding that ‘to dismiss package tourism as mass tourism is to ignore the multiplicity of experiences and meanings that package tourism represents to its participants’ (2002, p. 199).

More generally, tourist typologies developed over the last three decades show that ‘Western tourists’ – a highly problematic category - are prompted by a much wider range of motivations than allowed for in MacCannell’s somewhat simplistic depiction (Schudson 1979, p. 1252; Cohen 1979; Ross 1994; Ryan 2003, p. 73-91). Therefore, ‘mass tourism’ is best seen as a generic term, an ‘ideal type’ against which specific examples of tourism development might be assessed (Weber 1949, p. 89-102; Harrison and Sharpley 2016, forthcoming), and neither ‘Western’ tourists nor their ‘African’ or ‘Asian’ counterparts should be lumped together in some kind of meaningless, homogenous category.

Japanese Tourism: 1960s – 2000s

Since the early 1950s, international trips have been mainly intra-regional, to Europe (66%) and North America (30%) (Harrison 1992, p. 4). By 1990, they totalled nearly 440 million (table 1), but the market shares of Europe and the Americas was reduced to 64% and 20% respectively (Harrison 1992, p. 5). Twenty years later, the growing importance of East Asia, in particular, was obvious. Arrivals and receipts from international tourism had increased but Europe’s share of international tourist arrivals of 1.133 billion was now reduced to less than 52%, that of the Americas to about 16%, while that of Asia and the Pacific (of negligible importance in 1950) had risen to more than 23% and accounted for more than 30% of all international tourism receipts (UNWTO 2015, p. 4-5). This increase of international arrivals to East and Southeast Asia is well documented (figure 1), and the importance of East Asia, in particular, will be the focus in the remainder of this paper. The development of mass tourism in Japan followed a similar pattern that of nineteenth century England and post-1945 Europe. Peace facilitated prosperity, transport and communications improved, and new destinations and new or revamped attractions satisfied the growing demand.

Figure 1. Tourism Towards 2030: Actual trend and forecast 1950-2030.

Source: UNWTO (2015), p. 14

As elsewhere, mass domestic tourism came first. It originated in mass pilgrimages that became popular during the pre-industrial Edo period (Graburn 1995, p. 47; Thompson 2009, p. 59-60) and benefited greatly from post-1945 improvements in roads, railways and air transport (Funck 2013, p. 79). Following Ehrentraut (1993), Graburn depicts post-war domestic tourists as seeking ‘tradition’ and ‘Japan-ness’ in historical shrines, temples and castles, thus responding to government’s encouragement to ‘rediscover’ – even ‘reinvent’ - the ‘rural,’ as epitomised in collectively-experienced traditional hot spring resorts and clean, managed, and sexualised nature (Graburn 1995, p. 50-59). Arguably, such nostalgia arose from a deep post-war malaise and collective loss of confidence, as well as an increasingly urban, crowded and frenetic everyday modernity but, as Graburn notes, ‘Japanese history is no stranger to the longings of nostalgia’ (1995, p. 66). Put differently, the Japanese search for tradition is itself traditional.

Table 2. Japanese outbound and inbound tourism:, 1973-2015: selected years

Outbound		Inbound		
Year	Total departure	All arrivals	Holidaymakers	% of arrivals
1973	2,288,066	784,691	447,274	57.0
1975	2,466,326	811,672	446,420	55.0
1985	4,948,366	2,327,000	1,329,000	57.1
1990	10,997,431	3,235,860	1,879,497	58.1
1995	15,298,125	3,345,274	1,731,439	51.8
1999	16,357,572	4,437,863	2,560,343	57.7
2000	17,818,590	4,757,146	2,693,357	56.6
2005	17,403,565	6,727,926	4,368,573	64.9
2010	16,637,224	8,611,175	6,361,974	73.9
2011	16,994,200	6,218,752	4,057,235	65.2
2012	18,490,657	8,358,105	6,041,645	72.3
2013	17,472,748	10,363,904	7,962,517	76.9
2014	16,903,388	13,413,467	10,880,604	81.1
2015	16,213,763	19,737,409	16,969,126	87.2

Source: Tokuhisa 1980, p. 143; WTO 1990, p. 81; JTB Tourism Research and Consulting Co 2016a and 2016b.

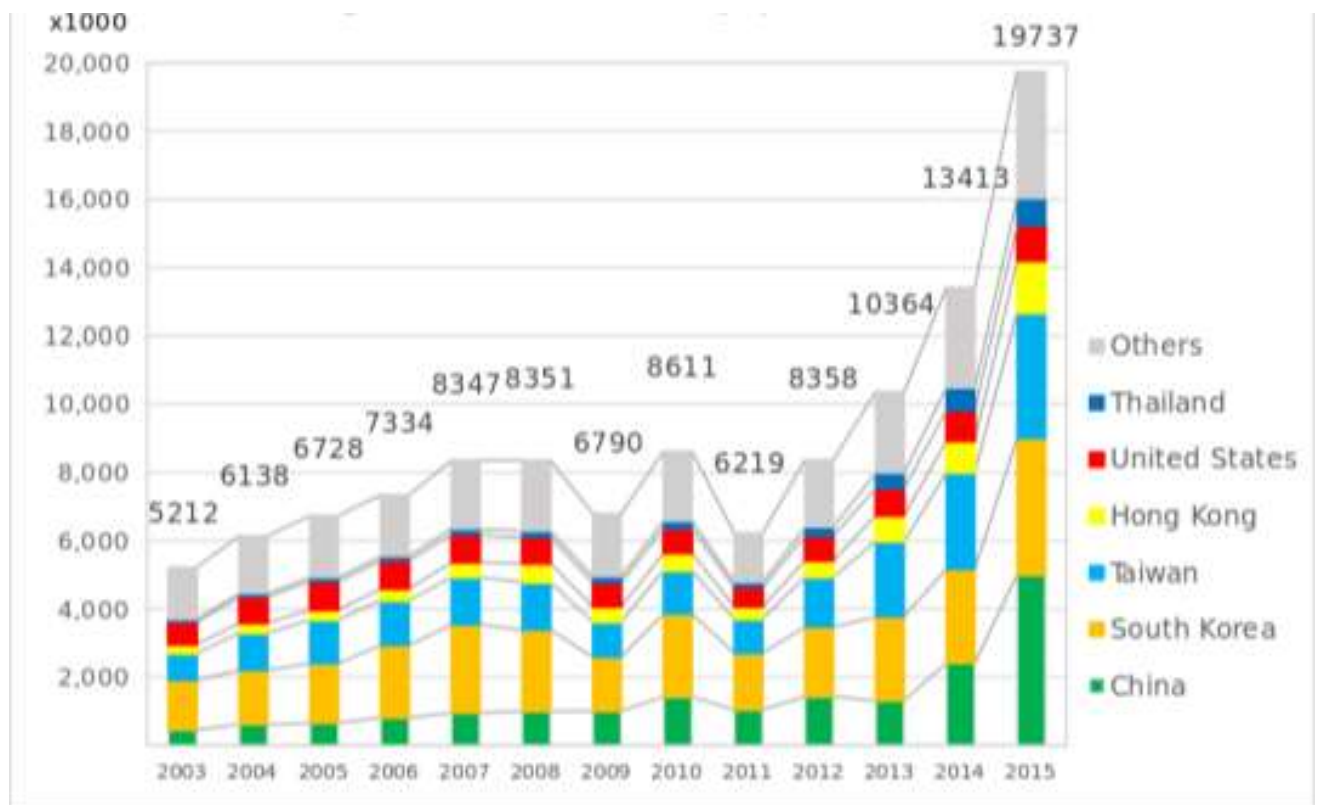
Such nostalgia is reflected in tendency to reproduce an idealised past, albeit on a small scale, as tourist attractions. Indeed, domestic and outbound tourism converge in theme parks based on small-scale reconstructions of a real or fictional national past, or on similarly fantastical Western attractions (Dutch towns, English villages, Shakespeare's house, Anne of Green Gables, Don Quixote, and so on), which are increasingly popular in Japan and some Southeast Asian countries (Hendry 2008; Surman 2008, p. 197). As noted by Guichard-Anguin, 'the foreign is well packaged, but in a Japanese parcel' (2008, p. 14). It is also nearer, cheaper and safer than 'the real thing.'

Japanese domestic tourism has been more consistent than inbound or outbound tourism. It declined somewhat in the mid-2000s but picked up again in 2011. In 2012, according to the Japan Tourism Agency (JTA), expenditure by domestic visitors (overnight stays) was 68.2% of all tourism expenditure (2014, p. 75) and, in 2014, nights spent by domestic tourists in all kinds of accommodation were nearly ten times those of inbound tourists (OECD 2016, p. 216). According to the World Travel and Tourism Council (WTTC), in 2014 travel and tourism contributed 7.5% of Japan's GDP, of which 92% came from domestic travel (WTTC 2015, p. 1 and p. 5).

Compared to domestic tourism, Japanese outbound tourism developed very slowly after the second World War. A reduction in foreign exchange restrictions in 1964, their removal in 1978, and the arrival in the 1970s of wide-bodied jet aircraft (Mackie 1992, p. 77) led to limited growth but, in 1979, only 5% of the Japanese public travelled overseas (Williams 2013, p. 44). A substantial spurt did occur in the mid-1980s, when government, under pressure to reduce its positive trade balance with the West, incentivised outbound travel, which then became more culturally acceptable and by 1996 reached 16.7 million. From then, though, an under-performing economy, the high cost of education, a preference for long-haul travel, and a reluctance to take vacations (Williams 2013, p. 46) led to stagnation (table 2). In 2012, there were only 18.5 million outbound trips, which fell to 16.2 million in 2015 (JTB Tourism Research and Consulting Co 2016a). For much of this period, the USA was the preferred long-haul destination, while the most favoured short-haul destinations, initially Singapore, Hong Kong, South Korea and Taiwan (Mackie 1992, p. 77), have recently become China (the most popular), followed by South Korea, Thailand, Taiwan, Hong Kong and Singapore (Herrero and Iwahara 2016).

Outbound Japanese tourism reflects the changing demographics of an ageing society and (again) indicates considerable varieties of tourist typologies and motivations. There is now a substantial ‘silver market’ (Funck and Cooper 2013, p. 212-213) and by 2007 nearly 90% of outbound tourists travelled independently, rather than on group tours, as compared to nearly 50% in 1964 (Funck 2013, p. 78-79). Japanese *kisaeng* (male sex tourism) of the 1970s and 1980s in South Korea and Thailand has been much discussed (Hall 1992; Leheny 1995; Bishop and Robinson 1997; Moon 2008, p. 152-155; Cohen 1993), and Moon notes several other categories of outbound tourist: the niche market of returnee colonists to South Korea (2008, p. 155); young, single ‘office ladies,’ a distinct category of Japanese tourist, whose *esute* tourism combines an interest in cosmetics, healthcare and shopping (Moon 2008, p. 158-164); *hallyu* tourism, where older Japanese women nostalgically seek a long-gone version of Japan in popular Korean TV soap operas, and history tourism, practiced by a more restricted, intellectually-inclined group of visitors (Moon 2008, p. 164-165).

Figure 2: Foreign Tourists Visited Japan (thousand)



Source: https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Tourism_in_Japan, Accessed 25th June 2016

Other categories of Japanese outbound tourism include ‘dark’ tourism, where elderly Japanese visit second World War sites in Palau or the South Pacific, and adventure tourism, where younger tourists (often honeymooners) go diving or simply enjoy the laid-back ‘paradise’ of tropical islands (Yamashita 2008). Similar attractions await in Hawai’i, whereas mainland USA is valued more for its elements of ‘modernity,’ such iconic sites as Hollywood and Disneyland, and the availability of ‘marker goods’ and souvenirs (Moore 1985, p. 633-640). By contrast, Japanese who visit the UK, while not eschewing such brands, look for ‘authentic’ British culture and ‘traditions,’ explore sites associated with such literary figures as Beatrix Potter and the Brontes, or locations of films made in the UK, for example, the Harry Potter series (Surman 2008).

Finally, like outbound tourism, inbound tourism to Japan grew slowly, but it was more consistent (table 2) and in 2015 exceeded the former (JTB Tourism Research and Consulting Co. 2016a and 2016b). Japan’s historic villages, castles, shrines and temples, national parks and UNESCO heritage sites, along with such centres of entertainment as Tokyo Disneyland, have increasingly attracted international as well as domestic visitors. For a long time, South Korea was the most important source of tourists, followed by Taiwan, Hong Kong and the USA. However, from a very low base in 2003, visitors from China have increased, especially since 2013, and in 2015 a new, young and aspiring Chinese middle class, benefiting from the depreciation of the yen, overtook South Koreans as the main source of tourists (figure 2), representing 25% of all tourist arrivals to Japan and accounting for more than 40% of all tourist expenditure (btrax 2016).

To summarise: in 2015, tourism in Japan reportedly accounted for almost 8% of Japan’s GDP and some 7% of the country’s employment, and Japan was ‘the fourth largest travel and tourism economy in the world’ (World Travel and Tourism Council 2015). Indeed, it was the emergence of outbound and inbound tourism in Japan that initially made East Asia a force to be reckoned with in global tourism. The centre of gravity in global tourism was starting to shift.

The Development of Chinese Tourism

China's growth generally, and as a recipient and source of international tourists has been spectacular. It has superseded Japan as the growth pole of global tourism and yet has hardly started developing its potential as a destination or (especially) a source of tourists (Herrero and Iwahara 2016). However, this emerged only after a long period of internal and external unrest. Since the late 1900s, there was periodic conflict with Japan, culminating in the Second Sino-Japanese War (1937-1945) and, after the formation of the Chinese Communist Party in 1921, intermittent civil war occurred between nationalists and communists, ending in 1949 with Mao Zedong's victory and the installation of the Peoples' Republic of China government (PRC).

China's travails did not end in 1949. International tensions - the Korean War (1952-1953), war with India, (1962), and fraught relations with the USSR - accompanied by domestic policies initially based on a Soviet model of top-down industrial development, successive five-year plans, and enforced land reform and redistribution of land to the peasants. During the early 1950s, government also promoted a series of radical 'movements' to advance its policies and neutralise opposition, costing an estimated 5-10 million lives (Berger 1977, p. 183). However, Kruschchev's 1956 critique of Stalin opened up a rift with Mao, who then initiated several consecutive disruptive (and contradictory) campaigns, including the 1957 Hundred Flowers Campaign, which encouraged criticism of the government and the Communist Party, and the Anti-Rightist Movement of the same year, which effectively ended such licence. With the Great Leap Forward (1958-1961), Mao introduced a new 'model' of self-reliant development, introducing collective farming and industrial decentralisation. None of this could prevent (and might have exacerbated) widespread famine, which from 1958 until 1962 led to extensive loss of life, estimates of which range from 23 million to 45 million (Peng 1987, p. 649; Dickotter 2010, p. 333).

In 1960, all Soviet aid to China was withdrawn. Mao then launched the Cultural Revolution (1966), aiming to eliminate a Soviet-style bureaucracy by attacking middle class bureaucrats and intellectuals. For months, Mao's student supporters, the Red Guards, went on an ideological rampage and killings and suicides were widespread. Eventually, the movement imploded, its excesses were finally recognised, and in 1967 the Peoples' Liberation Army restored order. By 1968, the radical phase of the Cultural Revolution

was over, but officially it ended only in 1976, after having profoundly negative impacts on the economy (Guo 2010, p.110, p. 153-154).

By the mid-1970s, albeit at a massive human cost, it seems starvation had been eliminated and most Chinese were better-off than their 1949 counterparts, but poverty remained widespread and standards of living were uniformly low (Berger 1977, p. 185-186). In addition, under Mao, any internal travel in China was tightly controlled. From 1956, the PRC government used the established *hukou*, or *huj*i system of household registration to ensure that, except for elite Party members, rural to urban migration was almost impossible (Sofield and Li 1998, p. 380; Walker 2015, p. 78 and 92). Under such constraints, neither domestic nor international tourism was an option for the average Chinese citizen.

In the 1970s, international tensions eased. President Nixon visited China in 1972 and Mao ZeDong died in 1976. When Deng Xiaoping became leader in 1978 he ended self-reliance as a development strategy and announced the 'Four Modernisations' of agriculture, national defence, science and technology. Inbound international tourism was promoted as a source of foreign exchange, foreign investment encouraged, developers were offered incentives to build hotels, and foreigners were accorded privileged access to transport facilities and special shopping centres (Wen 1997). The race towards modernity had begun.

Since 1978, the average annual growth rate in China has exceeded 10%, more than three times the average of developed nations, double that of India, and higher than Singapore, Hong Kong, Taiwan and South Korea (Guo 2010, p. 111). This achievement, obtained through a high rate of capital accumulation, containment of wage growth, and integration into the world economy, is not unproblematic, as poverty remains and growth has been accompanied by a rise in regional inequalities (Guo 2010, p. 113-127). Nevertheless, a substantial (and increasing) middle class has emerged, which has been both driver and beneficiary of economic development. Indeed, Song and Cui suggest that by 2017 the number in the middle class could be as high as 340 million (2009, p. 129), while Shorrocks and Davies note that since 2002 the size of the middle class in China has exceeded that in the USA (2015, p. 129).

Inbound, outbound and domestic tourism have all increased along with economic growth, though at different rates. When ‘open door’ policies were first introduced, inbound tourism was prioritized but domestic tourism was neglected and controls on internal migration remained (Xu 1999; Wu, Zhu and Xu 2000; Chiang 2012). Some restrictions on domestic travel were removed in 1978, more in the 1980s, when identity cards were introduced, and in 2011, when migration to small and medium-sized towns was facilitated (Ping and Pieke 2003, p. 16). Nevertheless, for most of the 1980s the official policy towards domestic travel for leisure purposes was ‘no encouragement’ (Guangrui 1985, p. 141).

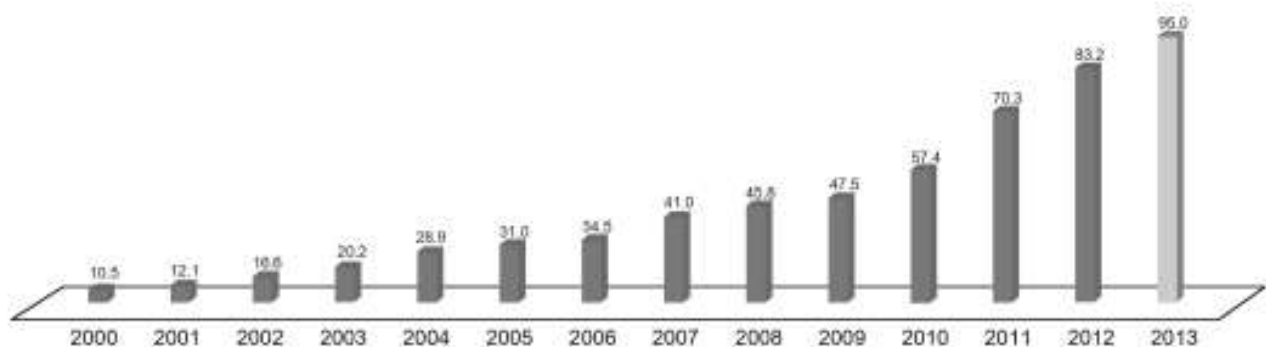
Despite government policies, as disposable incomes increased, so did domestic tourism (Guangrui 1985, p. 141). In the 1990s the policy changed, and the inauguration of Golden Weeks Holidays in 1999 reflected new awareness of domestic tourism’s economic value, and the positive *social* functions of ‘heritage’ attractions that promoted traditions, including those of ethnic minorities, and the unity-in-diversity ideology government wished to convey to both domestic and international visitors (Sofield and Li 1998, p. 372-376; Wu, Zhu and Xu 2000, p. 298; Graburn 2015, p. 176-177). Travel to natural or protected areas was also encouraged, along with ‘red tourism,’ featuring visits to areas noted for the birth and exploits of communist heroes (Li and Hu 2008). Domestic tourism thus became ‘a catalyst for the development of inland regions’ (Chiang 2012, p. 214; Ghimire and Li 2001, p. 98-102).

Such statistics are problematic, as they include rural migrants working in coastal cities (Chiang 2012, p. 2015), but mass domestic tourism is clearly crucial to the Chinese economy. From 1994 and 2014 domestic tourists increased from 524 million to 3.6 billion (Chiang 2012, p. 214; www.statistica.com/statistics/277254, Accessed 6th August 2016), rising to an estimated four billion in 2015 (Ryan and Shen, forthcoming). In 2010 domestic tourism in China reportedly accounted for 81% of all tourism revenue and 94% of all tourists, comprising ‘the largest domestic tourism market in the world,’ with the remaining 19% and 6% respectively coming from ‘foreign’ visitors and ‘compatriot’ Chinese from Hong Kong, Macau and Taiwan (Chiang 2012, p. 212).

Over the years, the nature of domestic tourism changed: whereas in 1994 most (39%) domestic tourists were urbanites, by 2010 it was 75% (Chiang 2012, p. 214), and the most favoured destinations were coastal cities, especially Shanghai, Beijing and Chongqing.

The fertile socio-economic conditions that encouraged domestic tourism also prompted outbound tourism (Xie and Li 2009; Arlt 2013; Xiang 2013; Dai, Jiang, Yang and Ma 2016; Zhang 2016). While commentators differ on its precise trajectory (Xie and Li 2009; Zhang 2016, p. 32), the overall pattern is clear. From 1983 until the mid-1990s, Chinese citizens could visit friends and relatives (at the latter's cost), initially in Hong Kong, then Macau, and later Singapore, Malaysia, Thailand, the Philippines and other border areas.

Figure 3. Chinese outbound trips 2000-2013



Source: Arlt, 2013, p. 128

Some restrictions were lifted in 1995, and approved destination status (ADS), seen by government as a way of exercising 'soft power' (Arlt 2016, p. 8-12), was increasingly granted to other countries, especially after 2001, when China joined the World Trade Organisation. Consequently, by 2013, nearly 150 countries had obtained ADS (Xie and Li 2009, p. 226-230; Arlt 2013, p. 127).

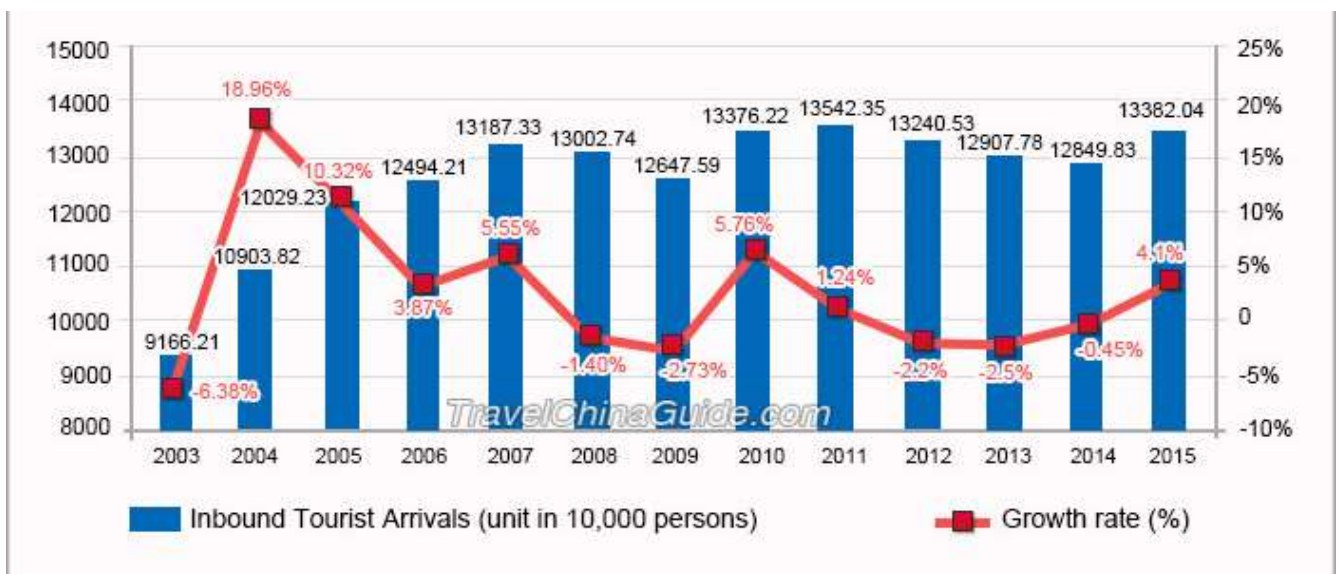
Statistics of outbound tourism from China are also problematic, as they exclude journeys of unregistered residents of major cities, yet include multiple business trips by individuals and regular cross-border commutes to Hong Kong, Macau and Russia (Arlt 2013, p. 128). Irrespective of such caveats, though, the overall trend is inexorably upwards (figure 3), and likely to continue. As Arlt notes, ‘even the 95 million border crossings estimated by the China Outbound Tourism Research Institute for 2013 translate into just 3% of the mainland Chinese population crossing a border in that year (2013, p. 128), and with current passport possession a mere 3%-5% and a potential market of at least 1.2 billion people (95 % of the Chinese population) (Li 2016, p. xxviii), virtually every tourist destination worldwide is setting its pitch for the Chinese market (Arlt 2016, p. 8-12; Xie and Li 2009, p. 232-234; Li, Harrill, Uysal, Burnett and Zhan 2010, p. 252).

At the same time, the profile of Chinese outbound tourism is changing. Leisure tourism overtook business trips in 2000 and currently most trips overseas (85%) are for leisure purposes (Xie and Li 2009, p. 239), mainly for shopping and sightseeing (Arlt 2013, p. 132; Dai, Jiang, Yang and Ma 2016, p. 3). Most outbound tourism is intra-regional, to Hong Kong and Macau (70%) and other Asian countries, notably Japan, South Korea and Thailand (20%). By contrast, such long-haul destinations as the USA and Europe take only a small percentage of Chinese visitors, but numbers will increase, through a ‘ripple effect,’ as Chinese tourists become more experienced and adventurous, travel further afield, rely less on tour agency packages, and opt more for self-organised itineraries (Xie and Li 2009, p. 239; Arlt 2013, p. 130-131; Zhang and Heung 2001, p. 8). And while younger travellers increasingly seek entertainment and adventure, long-haul tourists to the West focus more on history, and natural and cultural heritage (Xiang 2013, p. 143-145; Andreu, Claver and Quer 2014, p. 279).

China is the world’s fastest growing source of tourists. In 2014 their expenditure was 13% of global tourism receipts, more than any other nation (UNWTO 2015, p. 13). In the process, they have changed and increased the tourism profile of several destinations, with more to come. As Li notes, this growth may be just an appetizer with the main course yet to come (Li 2016, p. xxviii).

By contrast, the increase in inbound tourism to China has been unspectacular. In 1978, when rapprochement with the West began, China received 229,600 ‘foreign’ (i.e. non-Chinese) tourists (Guangrui and Lew 2003, p. 16). Inbound tourism was then increasingly prioritised as a source of foreign exchange and was first included in the national plan for social and economic development in 1986 (Lim and Pan 2005, p. 500). For then on, excluding temporary but drastic falls in arrivals following the 1989 Tiananmen Square student protests and the 2003 Severe Acute Respiratory Syndrome (SARS) crisis, arrivals steadily increased (Lim and Pan 2005, p. 500-502; Yang, Lin and Han 2010, p. 827-828). By 2015, total arrivals (including excursionists) exceeded 131 million (figure 4) and nearly 55 million overseas visitors stayed overnight, of whom two thirds were from Hong Kong, Macau and Taiwan, while the remainder were ‘foreign’ tourists. In all cases, however, numbers have remained relatively static (figure 4 and table 3).

Figure 4. Inbound Tourist Arrivals and Growth Rate



Source: <https://www.travelchinaguide.com/tourism/>, Accessed 3rd August 2016

In 2015, including indirect and indirect impacts, travel and tourism reportedly accounted for 9.4% of China's GDP and 8.6% of all employment (World Travel and Tourism Council 2015, p. 1). As indicated earlier, the level of domestic tourism far outstrip inbound tourists. As disposable incomes continue to rise, and with government planning to introduce a national system of paid holidays by the end of 2020, the number of domestic trips is expected to rise by 16% annually (Hernandez, Bahut, Wang and Garcia 2015, p. 22). Outbound tourism is also booming. In 2014, Chinese tourists reportedly took 109 million international trips, and competed with Germans and Americans as the highest spenders on international travel, spending US \$155 billion, while at the same time China was the fourth most popular world destination (Hernandez et al 2015, p. 1; UNWTO 2015, p. 6).

Table 3. China Inbound Tourism: 2006-2015 (millions)

Year	Total arrivals (overnights)	Foreign	Hong Kong	Macau	Taiwan
2006	49.9134	18.1061	27.9668		
2007	54.7198	21.3989	25.3814	3.9183	4.0212
2008	53.0492	19.7041	25.6686	3.8790	3.7975
2009	50.8752	17.6969	25.4979	3.8480	3.8324
2010	55.6645	21.2764	26.0945	3.9289	4.3647
2011	57.5807	21.9410	26.9159	4.2794	4.4444
2012	57.7249	21.9487	26.7100	4.3157	4.7504
2013	55.6859	20.8071	26.0759	4.2297	4.5732
2014	55.6220	20.8127	25.8745	4.2075	4.7274
2015	56.8857	20.2858	27.0899	4.6660	4.8441

Source: <https://www.travelchinaguide.com/tourism/>, Accessed 4th August 2016.

In short, whether occurring in or outside China, Chinese mass tourism is big business. However, it is not unproblematic. The transport system is said to be poorly integrated, and investment in infrastructure, construction and maintenance inadequate (Zhou and Szyliowicz 2006, p. 12-14). As with air transport, investment in the railways has been similarly constrained by state ownership (Zhang and Chen 2003) and the capacity of road infrastructure, though increasing, is behind the increase in car ownership (Jie, and van Zuylen 2014). Consequently, transport systems and popular destinations are

often choked by the sheer number of visitors (Xu 1999, p. 209 and p.216; Pearce and Chen 2012, p. 399). Carrying capacities of protected areas may be similarly exceeded (Li 2004), and social tensions can arise from excessive concentration of tourism accommodation, income inequalities and the uneven distribution of tourism resources (Wen and Sinha 2009; Yang, Ryan and Zhang 2013), while residents in 'heritage' sites may become (or at least feel) marginalised (Guo and Sun 2016; Wang, Yang, Chen, Yang and Li 2010; Xu, Yan and Zhu 2013). Alternatively, like rural to urban migrants (and inexperienced Chinese tourists in, for example, Hong Kong, Taiwan or Thailand) visitors from rural areas may receive a cold welcome from urban dwellers, often being seen as uncivilised, unhygienic or criminal (Ping and Pieke 2003,

Conclusion: Western Past and East Asian Present

Mass tourism developed in the West and in East Asia in broadly similar ways. Domestic mass tourism came first, emerging when the underlying socio-economic and political order was stable, when significant sectors of the population had a disposable income, and when road, rail or air transportation systems could transfer people in bulk from their homes to destinations. Mass international tourism followed the same pattern, as holidays had by then been institutionalised, often with legislative support, though there were significant differences in the control exercised by government. As in Central and Eastern Europe before the collapse of the Soviet bloc, governments of Japan and China, especially, played a major role in facilitating and/or controlling outbound tourism.

Historically and currently, tourists have often been lampooned as national stereotypes and treated as figures of fun or derision, especially when contravening norms that prevail in destination regions. In this respect, Chinese tourists are merely the latest to have caused resentment in destination areas, prompting the Chinese government, and some overseas destinations, to issue guidelines about how they are expected to behave (Economist 6th November 2013; Sziakov 2011; eTurboNews 2015; Tatlow 2015; Teon 2015).

Such (mis)behaviour is likely to be modified. Generally, as tourists (individually and collectively) gain more travel experience they rely less on pre-paid packages, travel further afield more confidently, and seek an increasing variety of tourist experiences. Younger, better educated travellers, especially, are more likely to engage in independent travel, as indicated in figures for both Japan and China (Market Intelligence Group 2013; Jaff 2013).

Finally, a theoretical issue: despite obvious commonalities in the emergence of tourism across time and place, it has recently been argued that tourism in 'emergent' nations been sufficiently intense – and different - to require a different 'paradigm' to that hitherto applied to Western tourism. Following Winter (2009, p. 23), Cohen and Cohen, for instance, claim Western theories of tourism have been dominated by a 'culture bound,' ethnocentric and Western-orientated 'discourse of authenticity' (2012, p. 2180; 2015a, p. 11). Chang, too, argues the need to 'Asianise the field' to ensure 'the diversity of Asian identities, perspectives and contributions are fore-grounded in tourism scholarship,' and enable 'the anticipated Asian tourism wave [to] be understood on its own terms rather than under the gaze of Western eyes' (2015, p. 96-97).

For their part, Cohen and Cohen suggest the 'New Mobilities Paradigm' (NMP), when applied to tourism in emerging societies, is less ethnocentric than 'the discourse of ethnicity,' 'does not distinguish between a centre and periphery of tourist activity...does not assume a single point of dissemination of tourism...and does not prioritise a particular motivation for tourism' (2015b, p. 163). However, their account of tourism in 'emerging world regions' (2015a, p. 16-17-27), said to be informed by the NMP, is, in fact, a thoroughly understandable historical description and, indeed, covers very similar ground to this paper.

Moreover, what it means to understand Asian tourism 'on its own terms' is unclear, and although 'the discourse of authenticity' has undoubtedly been important in Western tourism studies, its 'dominance' is questionable, while the NMP, even if it *were* a paradigm, is arguably as 'Western' as 'modernist studies of tourism.' In any case, whereas some Asian scholars have gone so far as to suggest the need for a 'paradigm shift' if research on Chinese tourism is to somehow be freed of 'Western' approaches (Xiao and Smith 2006;

Huang, van der Veen and Zhang 2014, p. 381), Cohen and Cohen baulk at supporting calls for ‘alternative social sciences in non-Western societies’ (2015b, p. 159).

At this point, three (brief) responses must suffice. First, neither Western nor Chinese academics have neglected Chinese tourism. Clearly, a time lag between the growth of tourism in a region and academic interest in the topic is normal. International tourism was well under way before MacCannell’s pioneering study *The Tourist* (1976) was published, and only then did tourism studies emerge as field of study (Jafari and Aaser 1988). Similarly, in his review of 187 English language papers on Japanese tourism, published from 1980 until 2009, Williams notes that 61% were published from 2000-2009 (2013, p. 47-48).

The Chinese case is even more marked. All literature reviews show that recently there has been a veritable explosion of academic publications on Chinese tourism, in English and Chinese (Kong and Cheung 2009, p. 343; Hsu, Huang and Huang 2010, p. 148; Xiao, Su and Li 2010, p. 330; Andreu, Claver and Quer 2010, p. 346; Huang 2011; Tsang and Hsu 2011, p. 888). Indeed, Huang and Chen cite a 2013 survey by Zhang and her colleagues of 16,024 tourism articles published in China from 2003 to 2012 (2016, p. 12). Such a volume of scholarship belies the notion that Chinese tourism has been neglected, and also demonstrates that both Chinese and Western tourism academics cover a wide range of topics from an equally wide range of perspectives.

Secondly, social scientists have long debated the meaning of ‘paradigm’ (Ekberg and Hill 1979). Indeed, Kuhn, its key exponent, repeatedly redefined it over his career. Ultimately, though, he saw paradigms as bodies of knowledge that reflected the practices, values and lexicons of communities of scientists. These communities (alone) produce and validate scientific knowledge and socialise members into their disciplines, and are distinct from other scientific communities in that their positions are *incommensurable* from other bodies of knowledge (Kuhn 2012, p. 176-177 and p. 205). This needs to be emphasised: for Kuhn, incommensurability with other bodies of thought was *always* the criterion of whether or not a ‘paradigm’ exists.

Advocates of a new ‘paradigm’ for Asian tourism use the term in a much looser sense. For Winter, it denotes a shift in attention from West to East tourist movement to that from East to West (2009, p. 29), though he does not explain why this change in *subject* necessitates a paradigm change. By contrast, Cohen and Cohen variously refer to the status of the NMP as ‘a model’ (2012, p. 2181), a ‘theoretical approach’, a ‘theory’ or an ‘innovative insight’ (2012, p. 2185), whereas Huang, van der Veen and Zhang depict a move from positivistic to qualitative perspectives as a shift in paradigms (2014, p. 381). In the Kuhnian sense used here, however, none of these positions are incommensurable; rather, they simply reflect the established fact that tourism studies has long accommodated different- but complementary disciplines and perspectives (Harrison 2007).

Whether or not the above conceptualisation of paradigm is accepted, the possible nature of a *non-Western* paradigm in the Kuhnian sense has rarely been articulated. Quoting Lin Yutan, an earlier American-based Chinese writer, Huang, van der Veen and Zhang contrast a ‘Western mind’ which is ‘generally analytical and thus science-oriented’ with a Chinese way of thinking that is ‘largely intuitive, dialectic or synthetic, non-conclusive and common-sense based’ and then, on the basis of this dubious stereotype, advocate a Chinese paradigm that is ‘more appropriate to study Chinese tourists’ (2014, p. 382), though quite what such a ‘Chinese perspective’ would mean, in practice, is not explained.

Other questions underly this debate: Is there a separate (social) science for ‘Europeans’ and ‘Asians?’ Are Asians and Chinese, or British and Europeans, homogeneous categories? Why not have a ‘German,’ ‘Italian’ or ‘Indian’ paradigm? What is so special about ‘Asians’ and ‘Chinese’ and their tourism patterns?’ Has it been shown that ‘Western’ scholarship cannot address the differences (if any) between Chinese tourism and its Asian and/or Western equivalents? Put more pithily, is there a tourism studies equivalent of acupuncture?

Notes

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